

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00115 01 OF 03 271036Z

12

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-10 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

DRC-01 /152 W

----- 049530

O P 270930Z JUN 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0204

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0115

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS, PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: AHG REPORT TO NAC

FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OUTLINE OF AHG REPORT TO BE GIVEN
TO NAC ON 28 JUNE 1974. REPORT WILL BE GIVEN BY UK REP
(ROSE). OUTLINE WAS APPROVED BY AHG ON 26 JUNE 1974.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. LAST REPORT ON 31 MAY.
THIS REPORT COVERS PERIOD SINCE THEN.

2. PLENARY SESSIONS HELD ON 6, 14, 20 AND 27 JUNE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00115 01 OF 03 271036Z

6 JUNE - STATEMENT BY US REP REBUTTING POINTS MADE BY

KHLESTOV ON 30 MAY, ESPECIALLY INACCURATE DATA AND QUOTATIONS TAKEN OUT OF CONTEXT.
EASTERN STATEMENT (HUNGARY) UNREMARKABLE.
WESTERN STATEMENT BY FRG REP DEVOTED MAINLY TO THE WESTERN ARGUMENTS FOR PHASING.
EXTEMPORE REPLY BY KHLESTOV TO US REP'S STATEMENT.
MAINTAINED WESTERN DATA INCORRECT AND ASSERTED EAST READY TO DISCUSS FIGURES AT APPROPRIATE TIME. IMMEDIATE QUESTION WHO WILL REDUCE FORCES FROM OUTSET AND WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED TO BE RESOLVED FIRST.

14 JUNE - NO WESTERN STATEMENT.
EASTERN STATEMENT BY CZECH REP DEVOTED MAINLY TO QUESTION WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM OUTSET. STRESS ON DIVISION BETWEEN "FOREIGN" AND "NATIONAL" FORCES. REJECTION OF UK AND CANADIAN ARGUMENTS FOR SAME TREATMENT AS OTHER NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

20 JUNE - NO EASTERN STATEMENT.

WESTERN STATEMENT BY CANADIAN REP. INTENDED TO PLACE ON RECORD A WESTERN RESPONSE TO KHLESTOV'S STATEMENT OF 30 MAY IN WHICH HE ATTACKED THE WESTERN POSITION ACROSS THE BOARD. GENERAL EXPOSITION OF WESTERN VIEWS ON THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE MEANS OF ACHIEVING THEM.
REITERATION OF REASONS WHY UK AND CANADA WERE NOT PREPARED TO BE INCLUDED WITH US AND SOVIET UNION IN THE FIRST PHASE.
SUMMARY OF ASSURANCES ON "THE LINK" SO FAR OFFERED.
SUGGESTIONS OF REVIEW PROCEDURE AND OF NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT PUT FORWARD FORMALLY IN PLENARY.

27 JUNE - NO WESTERN STATEMENT.

EASTERN STATEMENT.

COMMENTS:

(I) NO INDICATIONS IN PLENARY STATEMENTS OF EASTERN FLEXIBILITY ON SUBSTANCE.

(II) STATEMENTS ON BOTH SIDES MORE DIRECTLY RELATED TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00115 01 OF 03 271036Z

DISCUSSIONS GOING ON IN INFORMAL MEETINGS.

(III) EASTERN CRITICISM OF THE WESTERN DEFINITIONS OF
GROUND FORCES MADE EXPLICIT AND WESTERN DATA QUESTIONED.

(IV) EASTERN RECOGNITION OF NEED TO DISCUSS DATA BUT AT
A LATER STAGE.

(V) ATTACK ON PHASING, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO POSITION OF UK AND CANADA.

(VI) WEST HAVE PLACED ON FORMAL RECORD THE FULL RANGE OF ASSURANCES AND CLARIFICATIONS SO FAR MADE IN RELATION TO THE LINK BETWEEN PHASES AND THE CONTENT OF PHASE II.

3. INFORMAL SESSIONS
HELD ON 4, 11, 18 AND 25 JUNE.

4 JUNE - WESTERN REPS REPEATED TERMS OF NON-INCREASE OFFER AND EXPLAINED ONCE AGAIN OBJECTIONS TO EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL. PRESENTED TWO REMAINING CLARIFICATIONS AUTHROSIED BY THE COUNCIL, ON THE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME" AND REVIEW PROCEDURE.

EAST (KHLESTOV) REACTED SHARPLY TO WESTERN ACCUSATIONS OF EASTERN LACK OF FLEXIBILITY AND COMPLAINED THAT WEST HAD IGNORED EASTERN PROPOSALS. DELIBERATE LACK OF EASTERN INTEREST IN NEW WESTERN CLARIFICATION.

11 JUN - WESTERN REPS PROPOSED THAT KHLESTOV IDEA OF FINDING "MIDDLE GROUND" SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE ISSUE OF "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET". ARGUED THAT WESTERN NON-INCREASE OFFER REPRESENTED MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN POSITION OF THE EAST AND WEST. EAST (KHLESTOV) PROPOSED AGREEMENT ON "A FIRST REDUCTION STEP", WHICH WOULD REPRESENT A COMPROMISE NOT BASED ON EXISTING EASTERN OR WESTERN PLANS. ATTEMPTED TO BROADEN DISCUSSION, BEYOND THE AGREED QUESTION, TO INCLUDE SCOPE OF REDUCTIONS DURING A FIRST STEP.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00115 02 OF 03 271100Z

12
ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-10 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

DRC-01 /152 W

----- 049808

O P 270930Z JUN 74
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0205
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0115

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

18 JUNE - WESTERN REPS SOUGHT TO BRING DISCUSSION BACK TO THE AGREED QUESTION AND REPEATED THAT, SINCE THE WEST HAD ALREADY ADOPTED THE MIDDLE GROUND POSITION, IT WAS UP TO THE EAST TO MAKE A SIMILAR MOVE. EAST (KHLESTOV) FURTHER DEVELOPED THE PROPOSAL FOR "A FIRST REDUCTION STEP" BY SUGGESTING THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES AT THE OUTSET TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES BY A SPECIFIC AMOUNT AT A SPECIFIED TIME BUT THAT THE REDUCTIONS OF AT LEAST SOME OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US AND SOVIET UNION COULD BE POSTPONED UNTIL LATER IN THE FIRST STEP. SUCH A STEP WOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF 1975, BUT NEGOTIATIONS FOR FURTHER REDUCTIONS WOULD BE CONTINUED WHILE IT WAS BEING IMPLEMENTED. EASTERN INTENTION THAT US AND SOVIET FORCES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00115 02 OF 03 271100Z

WOULD TAKE BULK OF FIRST STEP REDUCTIONS. DESPITE KHLESTOV'S DENIALS, EVIDENT THAT PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THIS LATEST SUGGESTION WOULD BE TO ESTABLISH TWO CATEGORIES AMONG DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

(A) "A FIRST REDUCTION STEP" WOULD BE NEGOTIATED SEPARATELY FROM OTHER REDUCTIONS PROPOSALS;

(B) ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD AGREE, AT THE OUTSET, TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES WITHIN THIS FIRST STEP;

(C) THERE WOULD BE A TIMETABLE FOR REDUCTIONS, WITHIN THIS STEP, UNDER WHICH U.S. AND SOVIET-FORCES AND POSSIBLY SOME OTHERS (NOT SO FAR CONFIRMED OR IDENTIFIED) WOULD REDUCE AT THE START AND THE REMAINDER SUBSEQUENTLY;

(D) THE POSSIBILITY COULD BE CONSIDERED OF DELAYING REDUCTIONS BY THE REMAINDER UNTIL COMPLETION OF REDUCTIONS BY THE FIRST GROUP;

(E) IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE BULK OF REDUCTIONS, IN THIS STEP, TO BE TAKEN BY US AND SOVIET FORCES;

(F) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST STEP WOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF 1975;

(G) THE FIRST STEP AGREEMENT WOULD PROVIDE FOR CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN A SECOND STEP, WHICH WOULD BE NEGOTIATED WHILE THE FIRST STEP WAS BEING IMPLEMENTED.

(V) ALTHOUGH THIS POSITION REPRESENTS SOME MOVEMENT FROM THE ORIGINAL EASTERN PROPOSAL, IT STILL INVOLVES NEGOTIATION AT THE SAME TIME OF REDUCTIONS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND, APPARENTLY, ON THE BASIS OF EQUAL NUMBERS FOR EACH SIDE (20,000). THE WAY IN WHICH THE EAST WOULD EXPECT AGREEMENTS AND AIRCRAFT TO BE DEALT WITH HAS NOT SO FAR BEEN MADE CLEAR, THOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN SOME HINTS OF A FREEZE AND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00115 02 OF 03 271100Z

POSTPONEMENT OF REDUCTIONS TO A SECOND STEP.

(VI) THE EASTERN "FIRST REDUCTIONS STEP" IS CLEARLY DESIGNED

25 JUNE - KHLESTOV ATTEMPTED TO CONCENTRATE DISCUSSION ON THE EASTERN "FIRST REDUCTION STEP", CLAIMING THAT THE WEST HAD AGREED TO THIS BUT WERE GOING BACK ON THIS AGREEMENT BY INSISTING ON LINKING THE "FIRST STEP" WITH THEIR MAIN REDUCTIONS PROPOSALS.

WESTERN REPS MAINTAINED THAT EAST HAD NOT MOVED FAR ENOUGH TOWARDS THE MIDDLE GROUND ON THE AGREED SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION AND ASKED QUESTIONS DESIGNED TO PROBE FURTHER POSSIBLE REFINEMENTS IN THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. KHLESTOV SHOWED LITTLE WILLINGNESS TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS UNTIL THE WEST DEFINITELY AGREED TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON A "FIRST REDUCTION STEP".

COMMENTS:

(I) OUTCOME OF INFORMAL MEETINGS UP TO 18 JUNE REPORTED IN THE AD HOC GROUP'S PAPER OF 21 JUNE TO THE COUNCIL.

(II) AS A RESULT OF AUTHORITY GIVEN BY THE COUNCIL, ALLIED

NEGOTIATORS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DEPLOY CERTAIN ASSURANCES AND CLARIFICATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE WESTERN POSITION, WHICH HAS ENABLED THEM TO CLAIM TO HAVE SHOWN FLEXIBILITY AND TO HAVE MOVED TOWARDS THE "MIDDLE GROUND" BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES.

(III) IN RESPONSE, THE EASTERN REPS HAVE SHOWN CONSIDERABLE INGENUITY IN DEVELOPING THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A "FIRST REDUCTION STEP", WHICH THEY CLAIM REPRESENTS A GENUINE "MIDDLE GROUND POSITION".

(IV) FROM THE VARIOUS INDICATIONS GIVEN BY THE EAST IN THE COURSE OF RECENT INFORMAL MEETINGS IT IS POSSIBLE TO CONSTRUCT THE FOLLOWING TENTATIVE POSITION:- TO SIDESTEP THE COMMON CEILING PROPOSALS. IT DOES NOT REPRESENT A SUBSTANTIVE MOVE TOWARDS THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO DEFER REDUCTIONS IN THE FORCES OF DIRECT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00115 02 OF 03 271100Z

PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US AND SOVIET UNION UNTIL THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. BUT IT DOES CONTAIN SOME POSSIBILITIES WHICH, IN THE AD HOC GROUP'S VIEW IT IS DESIRABLE TO EXPLOIT.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00115 03 OF 03 271059Z

12

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-10 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

DRC-01 /152 W

----- 049783

O P 270930Z JUN 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 206
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO RUFHNA /USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE 167
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0115

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

4. TACTICS

(I) THE AIM OF THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS DURING THE REMAINDER OF THIS ROUND WILL BE TO PRESS THE EAST FOR FURTHER ELABORATION OF THEIR PROPOSALS, WITHOUT ACCEPTING THE EASTERN "FIRST REDUCTION STEP" AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, FOR A POINT WHERE THE "ALL FORCE COMMITMENT" CAN BE REPRESENTED AS A FINAL WESTERN EFFORT TO FIND THE "MIDDLE GROUND". THE AD HOC WOULD HOPE TO REACH THIS POINT BEFORE THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND.

(II) IF THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS ARE ABLE TO GIVE A PROVISIONAL INDICATION OF THE "ALL FORCES COMMITMENT" TO THE EAST IN JULY, THEY WILL THEN HAVE COMPLETED THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL THE WESTERN ASSURANCES RELATING
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00115 03 OF 03 271059Z

TO THE TWO PHASE APPROACH. IT IS UNCERTAIN WHETHER THERE WILL BE A SUBSTANTIVE EASTERN RESPONSE DURING THIS ROUND. BUT ACTION ON THE LINES PROPOSED WOULD ENABLE THE SOVIET (AND OTHER EASTERN) AUTHORITIES TO RE-EXAMINE THEIR POLICY ON PHASING DURING THE RECESS WITH KNOWLEDGE OF ALL ELEMENTS OF THIS ASPECT OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS.

(III) IF THE AD HOC GROUP ARE TO FULFIL THIS TIMETABLE, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS NEED TO BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE A PRELIMINARY INDICATION OF THE "ALL FORCES COMMITMENT" TO EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES PROBABLY AT THE INFORMAL MEETING ON 9 JULY AND AT THE LATEST BY THE MEETING ON 16 JULY. THE LATTER WOULD BE LESS SATISFACTORY BECAUSE IT WOULD NOT ALLOW TIME FOR EASTERN REPS TO COME BACK WITH QUESTIONS BEFORE THE RECESS, UNLESS THEY WERE PREPARED TO FIT IN A SPECIAL ADDITIONAL MEETING FOR THIS PURPOSE DURING THE FINAL WEEK.

(IV) A FURTHER PROBLEM WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE RESOLVED SOON RELATES TO THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES WHICH

IS RELATED TO THE QUESTION OF THE DATA BASE. SOME OF THE CRITICISMS LEVELLED BY KHLESTOV AT CURRENT WESTERN DEFINITIONS HAVE CONSIDERABLE OBJECTIVE VALIDITY. IF THE AD HOC GROUP ARE TO MOVE ON DURING THE NEXT ROUND TO DISCUSS THE SCOPE OF REDUCTIONS, INCLUDING THE COMMON CEILING, THEY WILL REQUIRE NEW GUIDANCE ON THIS SUBJECT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

(V) ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO REFER TO THE QUESTION OF FLANK SECURITY AND TO THE NEED FOR NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND VERIFICATION MEASURES. BUT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FURTHER TO ELABORATE WESTERN PROPOSALS ON THESE SUBJECTS UNTIL THE AD HOC GROUP RECEIVES GUIDANCE ON THE POINTS RAISED IN PART TWO OF ITS REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF 5 APRIL.

5. PROGRAMME

TENTATIVE AGREEMENT TO END THE THIRD ROUND ON 20 JULY.

LAST REGULAR INFORMAL MEETING ON 16 JULY.

LAST PLENARY SESSION ON 18 JULY.

PROPOSE FINAL REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON 26 JULY.

TENTATIVE AGREEMENT TO RESUME AFTER THE RECESS IN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00115 03 OF 03 271059Z

THE WEEK BEGINNING 16 SEPTEMBER, WITH FIRST PLENARY SESSION LATER IN THE SAME WEEK.

END TEXT. RESOR

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, AGREEMENT DRAFT, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, MEETING DELEGATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 JUN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MBFRV00115
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740170-0438
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974069/aaaaagyu.tel
Line Count: 415
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAR 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <09 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: AHG REPORT TO NAC FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OUTLINE OF AHG REPORT TO BE GIVEN
TAGS: PARM, NATO, NAC REISEBRO
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005